

June 20, 1967

that Walt looked upon this school, a college-level institution for the creative and performing arts, as his final contribution to a world that had given him riches, awards, and personal satisfaction.

My joint resolution, Mr. President, would authorize the striking of a gold medal for distinguished public service for presentation to Walt Disney's widow. The resolution also would authorize the striking of not more than 100,000 bronze medals, in successive issues of not less than 2,000, which would be ordered and paid for by the California Institute of the Arts as a means of raising funds.

I am reasonably sure, Mr. President, that Walt Disney felt that his original cartoon creations—Mickey, Donald, and all the rest—would live to bring enjoyment to succeeding generations. And his all-consuming interest, in the final act of his life, was the California Institute of the Arts. It is fitting that replicas of a gold medal awarded to Mr. Disney will benefit this school, an institution that will memorialize Walt Disney in a way that he would have preferred—by the instruction of young people. I urge the adoption of this joint resolution, Mr. President, and ask unanimous consent that the text of this joint resolution be printed in full at this point in the RECORD.

**THE PRESIDING OFFICER.** The joint resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the joint resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 93) to provide for the issuance of a gold medal to the widow of the late Walt Disney and for the issuance of bronze medals to the California Institute of the Arts in recognition of the distinguished public service and the outstanding contributions of Walt Disney to the United States and to the world, introduced by Mr. MURPHY, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. Res. 93

Whereas Walt Disney's life personified the American dream and his rags-to-riches story demonstrated that the United States of America remains the land of opportunity; and

Whereas Walt Disney, "the most significant figure in graphic arts since Leonardo," pioneered motion picture cartoons, produced spectacular feature films, and created fascinating nature studies bringing joy and pleasure to children of all ages; and

Whereas Walt Disney developed one of the wonders of the modern world, Disneyland, a fabulous park where happiness reigns and where one can relieve the nation's past as well as step into the future; and

Whereas Walt Disney was a great humanitarian, a "teacher of human compassion and kindness," a master entrepreneur, a great conservationist; and

Whereas Walt Disney's masterful touch contributed so significantly to the success of exhibits of the United States, including those at the New York and Brussels Worlds Fairs; and

Whereas Walt Disney, always an outstanding patriot, during World War II devoted ninety-five per cent of the production of his studio to the armed services; and

Whereas Walt Disney's vision and work with the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs did so much to create international

friendship and mutual understanding with our neighbors in Latin America; and

Whereas Walt Disney received an unprecedented number of Academy Awards, citations and honors from governments the world over, industry civic groups, and universities, which when listed total nearly a thousand; and

Whereas Walt Disney's greatest gifts to mankind were laughter, his steadfast faith in future generations and his belief that good will ultimately triumph over evil; and

Whereas Walt Disney's interest in young America is evidenced by his founding of the California Institute of the Arts, and college-level school of the creative and performing arts, which he regarded as his most important contribution to posterity: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That, in recognition of the distinguished public service and outstanding contributions to the United States and to the world, the President of the United States is authorized to present in the name of the people of the United States and in the name of the Congress to the widow of the late Walt Disney a gold medal with suitable emblems, devices and inscriptions to be determined by Walt Disney Productions with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary shall cause such a medal to be struck and furnished to the President. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$2,500 to carry out the purposes of this section.

Sec. 2. (a) The Secretary of the Treasury shall strike and furnish to the California Institute of the Arts not more than one hundred thousand duplicate copies of such medal in bronze. The medals shall be considered as national medals within the meaning of section 3551 of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 368).

(b) The medals provided for in this section shall be made and delivered at such times as may be required by the California Institute of the Arts in quantities of not less than two thousand. The Secretary of the Treasury shall cause such medals to be struck and furnished at not less than the estimated cost of manufacture, including labor, materials, dies, use of machinery, and overhead expenses, and security satisfactory to the Director of the Mint shall be furnished to indemnify the United States for full payment of such costs.

#### NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON SENATE BILL 836, TO CREATE A NATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Subcommittee on Government Research of the Senate Committee on Government Operations will hold hearings tomorrow, Wednesday, June 21, 1967, at 8 a.m., in room 1318 of the New Senate Office Building, in the further consideration of S. 836, a bill to create a National Social Science Foundation.

Should it be impossible for the subcommittee to hear all the witnesses scheduled for tomorrow before the Senate goes into session, the hearings will be recessed during the Senate session and resumed tomorrow following the session of the Senate.

#### NOTICE OF RECEIPT OF NOMINATION BY THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, as chairman of the Committee on Foreign

Relations, I desire to announce that today the Senate received the following nomination:

William B. Dale, of Bethesda, Md., to be U.S. Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years—reappointment.

In accordance with the committee rule, this pending nomination may not be considered prior to the expiration of 6 days of its receipt in the Senate.

#### ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. JAVITS:

Two press releases concerning Senior Citizens' Day at Shrub Oak, N.Y., May 5, 1967.

By Mr. TALMADGE:

Article written by Hubert F. Lee, and published in the Dixie Business magazine, spring-summer edition, 1967.

By Mr. HART:

Article entitled "Holdsworth's History Finally Completed," by Frederick Bernays Wiener, and published in the April 1967 issue of the American Bar Association Journal.

By Mr. RIBICOFF:

Statement by him relating to the beginning of Soviet control of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

By Mr. LAUSCHE:

Article entitled "Conference at Geneva," written by William Buckley, Jr., and published in the Washington Daily News of June 6, 1967.

By Mr. HARTKE:

Article entitled "Senate Panel Clerk Since 1942 Retiring," dealing with the retirement of Edward Jarrett, chief clerk of the Senate Commerce Committee.

#### McNAMARA'S POOR TIMING

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, there appears in the June 15 edition of the State, of Columbia, S.C., a very timely editorial entitled "Consistently Bad Timing." This editorial concisely outlined Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's perpetual poor timing with the most impending issue facing our Nation—our national defense policy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial to which I have referred, published in the State, Columbia, S.C., June 15, 1967, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### CONSISTENTLY BAD TIMING

There may be room for debate as to the quality of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara's judgment (we think it extremely poor) but few persons can argue that his sense of timing is not utterly miserable.

He set out to reduce the nation's supply fleet just before things really got hot in Vietnam—which is a lot of water away from the United States.

He announced sweeping reductions in shipyards, and military bases and military hardware procurement just before things went "boom" in Saigon and its environs.

He fought the anti-ballistic missile program—and all of a sudden we find the Russians have one.

Yes, Mr. McNamara has trouble with that intangible thing called timing. But never was

his luck so bad as in his latest effort to downgrade and slenderize the nation's Army reserves.

Professional military men and Reserve and National Guard spokesmen and the "readiness" team in Congress had hardly time to form their usual chorus of opposition when the best possible evidence of the value of trained militia appeared.

It was provided by a general named Dayan, who rallied a hearty band of reservists to the Star of David, pushed a noisy band of Arabs all over the deserts of the Middle East, and turned their Holy War into an Arabian Nightmare.

For years the entire nation of Israel has been a bristling military reserve camp, where handling a rifle or a jet fighter was as important as pushing a plow. Israel remains a nation today because of its tough, skilled reserves.

We would not suggest that America's reserve forces are in anywhere the state of readiness as the Israeli, or that they need to be. Neither are they nearly as ineffective as Mr. McNamara seems to believe. His own constant meddling with the Reserve structure is as responsible as anything else for some loss of readiness. America's reserves, we would point out, like Israel's, have never lost a war.

If Mr. McNamara's sense of timing were a little better, he would realize that it's time—past time—for him to go.

### *ABM* RED CHINA'S H-BOMB TEST

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, yesterday's Evening Star carries a lead editorial analyzing the effect of Red China's H-bomb test. The Star correctly concludes that the time has come to re-examine the go-slow policy of President Johnson and Secretary of Defense McNamara in deploying an antiballistic missile defense. The phrase "go-slow" is the Star's diplomatic description of a policy which might better be described as "Never."

Events now indicate that "Never" is a most dangerous policy. The Star, it seems to me, is in error when it says that the Russians will push ahead with their ABM because of a threat from China. The present deployment of the Tallinn line in the western part of the Soviet Union is clearly chosen as a defense against U.S. missiles, not Chinese. But the Star is correct when it points out that a successor regime in Peking could easily come to terms with Moscow and receive support for nuclear blackmail against the West.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the editorial entitled "Red China's H-Bomb," published in the Washington Evening Star of June 19, 1967.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### RED CHINA'S H-BOMB

The disclosure that Communist China has successfully tested a hydrogen bomb with an explosive force "in the range of several megatons" calls urgently for some re-thinking on a few life-or-death decisions.

This does not mean that any spirit of panic should dictate our decisions. But it is a development which certainly cries out for a reappraisal of some of the basic assumptions on which we have been proceeding.

There are a few facts which should be

kept clearly in mind. The A-bomb with which we wrecked Hiroshima was roughly equivalent to 20 thousand tons of TNT. The bomb which the Chinese tested has a destructive force equal to several million tons of TNT. Both the United States and Russia have more powerful bombs. But you can say goodbye to any city that might be hit by the Chinese version—and the Chinese, of course, can and doubtless will build more and bigger bombs.

A second fact is that the Chinese produced this weapon in less than three years after their first successful nuclear test—sooner than most experts had thought possible. Finally, some authorities think the Chinese have been moving along parallel lines—developing a sophisticated delivery system at the same time they were building their H-bomb.

One immediate result, it seems to us, is to compel a re-examination of our go-slow policy with respect to developing some kind of anti-ballistic missile system. The Russians have started to build theirs and, in the existing climate of their relations with Peking, they are not likely to give it up. Our government's policy has been to hold back, hoping that if we do nothing the Russians will not push ahead with their ABM system. But the Russians, as of now, would be most immediately threatened by China's H-bomb. They can hardly be expected to overlook that danger.

Defense Secretary McNamara has opposed a start by us on building an ABM system. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the civilian heads of the armed services think we should start on either a conventional or a unified system.

McNamara says the Chinese will not pose any threat to the United States proper before the mid 1970s. Others, including Senator Jackson, who heads the Senate-House subcommittee on atomic weapons, think the Chinese can have an effective intercontinental ballistic missile delivery system by 1972. Even if McNamara is right, however, the mid-1970s are only about eight years away. That is a brief period of time, and if the Chinese move as fast on their delivery system as they have on their H-bomb we could be in mortal danger before we realize it.

Another point to be considered is that the rift between the Russians and the Chinese is not necessarily a permanent thing. Mao Tse-tung's years are numbered. There is no assurance that a successor regime in China will not come to terms with the Russians while pressing hard for domination in Asia. In that situation, a China armed with H-bombs and supported by Moscow would have significant opportunities for blackmail, if nothing else.

Perhaps none of these things will come to pass. Peking says that its H-bombs will be used only for defense. Others believe that possession of the ultimate in nuclear weapons must have a sobering effect on any government. No doubt. But the situation today is similar to that in the 1940s, when many leaders in our own scientific community argued strenuously against even trying to make an H-bomb. Harry Truman decided to go ahead, and it is good that he did. The Russians developed theirs very shortly after we did. The history of the past 20 years might have been quite different if we had lagged behind.

In this situation, we think Senator Jackson is right in saying that the United States should start now to build a "light" ABM protective system. If events indicate the necessity, we can expand it. And China's achievement suggests that time is running out for us. If we wait another five years to make a start, it may be too late to catch up in what could prove to be a decisive—and possibly fatal—nuclear race. Should the test come, there will be no second chance for the loser.

### NOMINATION TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THURGOOD MARSHALL

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the nomination of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court has caused many people to stop and consider the future direction of the Court. Many people have said that the addition of Mr. Marshall to the Court will make no difference in the long run since the Court could not be any worse than it is at the present time. Perhaps in the context of most of the decisions emanating from the Court this is true.

The nomination would make the Court more decidedly liberal, however, since it would give the liberals, in all probability, a bigger margin of power.

Two noted and respected columnists have recently written on this very point. There appeared in the Sunday Star of June 18, 1967, a column entitled "Marshall's Appointment Upsets Court Balance," by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick. Mr. Kilpatrick has distinguished himself as both a writer and as a "court watcher." On the following day, Monday, June 19, Mr. William S. White added his views on the nomination in a column entitled "Marshall to the Court." The subheading of Mr. White's column poses a very pertinent question, "Can Moderation Survive?"

In the belief that both these columns will add immeasurably to the Senate's consideration of this nomination, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### MARSHALL'S APPOINTMENT UPSETS COURT BALANCE

The nomination of Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court has produced cries of jubilation within the liberal left. On the conservative side of the fence, the prospect produces only a sharp dismay. Where goes the Constitution now?

The big news in Marshall's nomination, of course, is that he is the first Negro ever to be named to the court. In the larger view, the matter of his race is immaterial. The overriding fact is that in choosing Marshall to replace the retiring Tom Clark, President Johnson deliberately has moved to upset the rough balance of liberalism and conservatism that recently has prevailed upon the high tribunal. Next term, the forces of judicial restraint will be represented only by Harlan, Stewart, and White, with an occasional vote from Black. The judicial activists will be in full control.

To either view—conservative or liberal—the consequences of this replacement cannot be emphasized enough. When the founding fathers created the Supreme Court in the Constitution of 1787, it was widely supposed that the court always would be the weakest branch of the central government. The driving force of the court's first Mr. Justice Marshall—Chief Justice John—changed all that. By a process of evolution, culminating dramatically in the Warren Court, the tribunal has become the most powerful authority in the whole of our federal system. Its members, serving for life, are in a commanding position to shape national policies as they please. These days, they often are pleased to turn the Constitution into wax.